## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-25** 

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ACDA-19 ISO-00 SS-20 NSC-10 PM-07

H-03 CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-11 OMB-01 NIC-01

DRC-01 /161 W

----- 088111

R 261629Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8320

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 15540

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, GW, FR

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC DECLARATION AND FRENCH ATTITUDE TOWARD

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NATO ALLIANCE

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING OCT 25 CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR, FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS ON DECLARATION OF THE FIFTEEN AND ON RECENT EVOLUTION IN FRENCH ATTITUDES TOWARD NATO AND ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. VAN WELL'S COMMENTS WERE NUANCED BUT GENERALLY UPBEAT CONCERNING FUTURE FRENCH POLICIES. END SUMMARY

- 1. ON NATO DECLARATION, VAN WELL SAID THE PROBLEM NOW SEEMS TO BE HOW TO SALVE CANADA'S PRIDE WHILE MAINTAINING THE CHARACTER OF THE DECLARATION OF THE FIFTEEN TABLED BY FRANCE. VAN WELL ASSESSED THE FRENCH DRAFT AS THE FIRST MANIFESTATION OF POST-DE GAULLE FRANCE'S READINESS TO ADJUST TO THE CONDITIONS OF THE ALLIANCE WITHOUT ACTUALLY REJOINING THE NATO MILITARILY INTEGRATED COMMAND STRUCTURE. FOR THIS REASON, VAN WELL SAID THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED IT VERY IMPORTANT NOT TO LOSE THE CHARACTER OF A DECLARATION OF THE FIFTEEN BY REVERTING TO 14/1 TYPE FORMULATIONS.
- 2. ON THE OTHER HAND, VAN WELL SAID HE WAS PERFECTLY CONSCIOUS OF U.S. DESIRES TO INSERT SOME MBFR AND BURDEN SHARING TYPE LANGUAGE IN THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION. BOTH VAN WELL AND BRITISH FCO OFFICIAL WRIGHT HAVE BEEN "IN CONTINUOUS CONTACT" WITH PUAUX IN ORDER TO WIN FRENCH ACCEPTANCE OF THESE CONCEPTS. WHILE VAN WELL BELIEVES THE FRENCH ARE READY TO EXPLORE THESE ISSUES, HE SAID IT IS PROVING DIFFICULT TO CONSTRUCT A BRIDGE TO FRANCE ON MBFR AND BURDEN SHARING LANGUAGE. THIS IS BECAUSE, AS VAN WELL UNDERSTANDS IT, THE FRENCH ATLANTIC DECLARATON DRAFT WAS PREPARED AND REVIEWED IN THE QUAI "FROM BOTTOM TO TOP AND FROM TOP TO BOTTOM." FURTHER, VAN WELL SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT JOBERT HAD WRITTEN MAJOR PARTS OF THE DRAFT HIMSELF AND THAT THE ENTIRE DOCUMENT HAD BEEN ENDORSED EXPLICITLY BY POMPIDOU.
- 3. TURNING TO FRENCH SECURITY POLICY, VAN WELL TRACED THE EVOLVING FRENCH LINE FROM THE JUNE SECRET

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JOBERT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH, TO THE EC IDENTITY GDS HILLENBRAND

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**ACTION EUR-25** 

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ACDA-19 ISO-00 SS-20 NSC-10 PM-07

H-03 CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-11 OMB-01 DRC-01

NIC-01 /161 W

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R 261629Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8321

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 15540

PAPER BEING DISCUSSED IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, TO THE FRENCH DRAFT ATLANTIC DECLARATION TABLED IN NATO AND FINALLY TO POMPIDOU'S RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE. VAN WELL SAID THE FRENCH HAD PROPOSED ADDING A SENTENCE TO THE EC IDENTITY PAPER SPEAKING OF THE "NECESSITY SECRET

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FOR AN AUTONOMOUS EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMON DEFENSE, TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE ALLIANCE..."

4. REFERRING TO POMPIDOU'S PRESS CONFERENCE, VAN WELL SAID HE CONSIDERED THE FRENCH PRESIDENT TO BE MORE CAUTIOUS THAN JOBERT, WHOM HE TERMED A MAN OF ACTION; ACCORDINGLY, VAN WELL SAID IT WOULD NOT BE AN EASY OPERATION FOR POMPIDOU TO CAST HIMSELF IN THE ROLE OF A CHAMPION OF THE ALLIANCE. THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT IN VAN WELL'S VIEW BOTH IN TERMS OF FRENCH RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW AND IN TERMS OF IMPLEMENTING A STRATEGIC CHANGE IN THE FRENCH ORIENTATION TOWARD THE ALLIANCE. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY THE CASE WITH A DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION INVOLVING DEBRE AND THE GAULLISTS. MITTERAND, THE SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS AND LEFTISTS AS WELL AS LECANUET AND OTHER NON-UDR CENTRISTS. VAN WELL SAID POMPIDOU HAD TOLD GERMAN AMBASSADOR VON BRAUN SOMETIME AGO THAT A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE FORMED BUT THAT A COMMON DEFENSE MINISTER WOULD BE THE LAST OFFICIAL TO BE NAMED TO SUCH A UNITED EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT.

5. IN A SEPARATE CONVERETION WITH EMBOFF, FONOFF FRENCH DESK OFFICER ALSO COMMENTED ON RECENT POMPIDOU PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS CONCERNING DEFENSE ISSUES.FONOFF REP OFFERED OBSERVATION THAT POMPIDOU SEEMED TO BE PLACING MORE EMPHASIS ON NEED FOR CLOSER FRENCH RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO THAN ON DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY. FONOFF REP SAID HE THOUGHT POMPIDOU WAS SUGGESTING THAT LATTER POSSIBILITY WAS A MATTER FOR THE FUTURE WHILE COOPERATION WITH NATO WAS AN IMPERATIVE OF THE PRESENT.

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To: STATE

Type: TE

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